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FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3219
AMEMBASSY BONN

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2464

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC

SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE: REVISED DRAFT

REF: (A) STATE 93407, (B) USNATO 2286

SUMMARY: THE SPC REVIEWED THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE APRIL 26 AND PRODUCED A REVISED DRAFT TRANSMITTED BELOW. US INSTRUCTIONS IN REF A ARRIVED AFTER THE MEETING. ACTION REQUESTED: ANY FURTHER GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR NEXT SPC REVIEW MAY 3. END SUMMARY.

- 1. NUMEROUS SUGGESTIONS WERE PUT FORWARD BY ALLIED DELS ON INSTRUCTIONS DURING APRIL 26 REVIEW OF DRAFT COMMUNIQUE. THE MAJORITY, HOWEVER, CONTINUED TO FAVOR A CONCISE COMMUNIQUE AND TO TURN DOWN MAJOR SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGE AS THEY WERE RAISED. THE RESULT IS A REVISED DRAFT NOT RADICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT TRANSMITTED IN REF B. GUIDANCE IN REF A WAS NOT RECEIVED UNTIL AFTER SPC MEETING.
- 2. POINTS OF INTEREST, KEYED TO COMMUNIQUE PARAGRAPHS IN DRAFT PROVIDED BELOW, ARE:

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- -- PARA 3, FULL BRACKETED SENTENCE BEGINNING "THEY REAFFIRMED THE WESTERN OBJECTIVE" WAS PROPOSED BY THE FRG REP, WHOSE AUTHORITIES BELIEVED THAT STANDARD MBFR LANGUAGE ALONG THESE LINES SHOULD BE INCLUDED. A NUMBER OF REPS OPPOSED THIS LANGUAGE PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF ITS LENGTH AND WILL TRY TO REWORK GERMAN LANGUAGE INTO SINGLE SENTENCE ON MBFR.
- --PARA 4, MAJORITY OF REPS FAVORED A SHORT SECTION ON BERLIN, PREFERABLY ONLY ONE SENTENCE IN CONSONANCE WITH

THE CONCISION OF THE REST OF THE COMMUNIQUE AND IN KEEPING WITH THE CONTEXT OF THE PARAGRAPH. THEY HOPED THAT THIS LANGUAGE WOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL ALLIES SOON.

- -- PARA 5, FIRST BRACKETED PASSAGE ON CSCE WAS PROPOSED BY THE UK AND SUPPORTED BY A MAJORITY OF REPS WHO AGREED THAT "PROGRESS HAS BEEN UNSATISFACTORY". THE SECOND BRACKETED PASSAGE WAS PREFERRED BY CANADIAN AND DANISH REPS WHO OPPOSED A REFERENCE TO UNSATISFACTORY PROGRESS.
- -- PARA 6, BRACKETED LANGUAGE ON HELPING THE DEVELOPING GOUNTRIES IS DRAWN FROM PARA 12 OF THE OTTAWA DECLARATION. IT WAS PROPOSED BY THE NORWEGIAN REP AND SUPPORTED BY THE NETHERLANDS AND PORTUGUESE REPS. FRENCH, FRG, AND CANADIAN REPS OPPOSED INCLUSION OF A SECTION ON DEVELOPMENT AID.
- 3. COMMENT: OUR INSTRUCTIONS (REF A) ARRIVED FOLLOWING THE SPC MEETING. WE WILL DRAW ON THESE INSTRUCTIONS AT THE MAY 3 SPC MEETING AND SEEK TO INCORPORATE INTO THE REVISED DRAFT AS MUCH OF THE SUBSTANCE AND SPECIFIC LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY WASHINGTON AS POSSIBLE. HOWEVER, DESPITE OUR BEST EFFORTS, WE EXPECT RESISTANCE TO EXTENSIVE CHANGES OR ADDITIONS AT THIS STAGE OF THE DRAFTING. INITIALLY, WE WILL BE HANDLING FYI PORTIONS OF REF A ON US INITIATIVES AT SUMMIT IN EARLY NAC MEETING. CONFIDENTIAL

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END COMMENT.

- 4. ACTION REQUESTED: ANY ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE WASHINGTON WISHES TO PROVIDE IN TIME FOR MAY 3 MEETING. END ACTION REQUESTED.
- 5. BEGIN TEXT OF REVISED DRAFT COMMUNIQUE (DFC/2)(NOTE: BRACKETS ARE REPRESENTED AS PARENTHESES):

THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MET IN LONDON ON 10TH AND 11TH MAY, 1977 WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT.

THE ALLIED LEADERS REAFFIRM THAT THE ESSENTIAL PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE IS TO SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY OF ITS MEMBERS AND TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE CREATION OF A LASTING STRUCTURE OF PEACE. THE ALLIES ARE THUS FIRMLY RESOLVED TO MAINTAIN, AND, WHERE NECESSARY, ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE TIES WHICH UNITE THEM.

3. ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN SOME IMPROVEMENTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN RECENT YEARS, ELEMENTS OF INSTABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY PERSIST. OF PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THE UNREMITTING GROWTH IN THE STRENGTH AND OFFENSIVE

CAPABILITIES OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ALLIES EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR THE ALLIANCE TO MAINTAIN AT AN ADEQUATE LEVEL THE FORCES REQUIRED FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE AND FOR DETERRENCE AND, TO THIS END, TO MAKE THE MOST EFFICIENT

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USE OF THEIR RESOURCES. THEY ARE DETERMINED TO ASSUME TO THE BEST OF THEIR CAPABILITIES THE BURDENS THIS ENTAILS AND TO STRENGTHEN THEIR MUTUAL SUPPORT EFFORTS AND COOPERATION.

AT THE SAME TIME, THEY REAFFIRM THEIR CONVICTION THAT SECURITY IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD, WITHOUT WHICH DETENTE COULD NOT PRODUCE ITS BENEFICIAL EFFECTS, CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY STATEMENTS OF INTENT DEVOID OF ANY REAL SUBSTANCE, BUT REQUIRES RESOLUTE EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS THROUGH EQUITABLE AND BALANCED MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL. IN THIS CONNECTION, THEY RECALL THEIR LONG-STANDING EFFORTS IN THESE FIELDS.

(SALT)

WITH RESPECT TO MBFR, THE ALLIES CONCERNED EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS AS A MEANS OF ENSURING UNDIMINISHED SECURITY (FOR ALL). (THEY REAFFIRMED THE WESTERN OBJECTIVE TO ESTABLISH APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES IN THE FORM OF A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING AND THE REDUCTION OF THE DISPARITY IN TANKS.) CONFIDENTIAL

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4. CONFIDENT IN THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE ALLIANCE, THE ALLIES WILL PERSEVERE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO LESSEN THE TENSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND TO

INCREASE PROGRESSIVELY THE AREAS OF COOPERATION.
HOWEVER, PROGRESS TOWARDS THIS OBJECTIVE DEPENDS ON
THE EXTENT TO WHICH ALL CONCERNED SHOW MODERATION AND
SELF-RESTRAINT BOTH IN EUROPE AND IN OTHER PARTS OF
THE WORLD. (BERLIN)

5. THE ALLIES CONTINUE TO ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE IMPLEMENTATION BY THE CSCE SIGNATORY STATES OF ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. (THEY WELCOME THE STEPS THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN TOWARDS THIS END, BUT NOTE THAT IN A NUMBER OF FIELDS PROGRESS HAS BEEN UNSATISFACTORY. MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE BEFORE THE FINAL ACT CAN BE REGARDED AS FULLY EFFECTIVE BOTH IN INTER-STATE RELATIONS AND IN THE LIVES OF THE INHABITANTS OF ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED.) OR (THEY WELCOME THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN CERTAIN FIELDS COVERED BY THE FINAL ACT, BUT UNDERLINE THAT MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE IF THE POTENTIAL OF THE FINAL ACT IS TO BE REALIZED IN TERMS OF BOTH INTER-STATE RELATIONS AND ALSO IN THE LIVES OF THE INHABITANTS OF ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED.)

THE FORTHCOMING BELGRADE MEETING WILL PROVIDE A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY FOR A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, AND FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON WAYS OF DEVELOPING THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IN THE FUTURE. THE ALLIES WILL PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THAT MEETING AND WILL SEEK AN OUTCOME WHICH WILL PROMOTE BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING STATES AND BE BENEFICIAL TO ALL THEIR PEOPLES.

6. THE ALLIES RECOGNIZE AS WHOLLY LEGITIMATE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT RESPECT FOR THESE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COMMITMENTS ACCEPTED BY GOVERNMENTS IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS INCLUDING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, IS ESSENTIAL FOR PEACE AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES.

(EACH ALLIED COUNTRY ACKNOWLEDGES THE DUTY TO HELP THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THAT EVERY COUNTRY BENEFIT FROM TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN AN OPEN AND EQUITABLE WORLD SYSTEM.)

7. RECOGNIZING THE VITALITY AND VIGOUR SHOWN BY THE ALLIANCE OVER THE YEARS, THE ALLIED LEADERS REAF-

FIRM THEIR DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THEIR CLOSE ASSOCIATION AND COHESION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. END TEXT.STREATOR

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